

FREEDOM

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FIVE CENTS

Notes and Comments

Terzani:

Athos Terzani, Anarchist and anti-Fascist worker accused of killing his comrade, Anthony Fierro, in a fight which broke up a meeting of the fascist Khaki Shirts of America in Astoria on July 14, was released on bail after spending 47 days in jail in Long Island City. The bail, originally set at \$15,000, was reduced to \$10,000.

The date of Terzani's trial is to be set in September. Arthur Garfield Hays will be the trial lawyer and will have associated with him A. S. Cutler, Morris Shapiro, Harry Sacher and Leon Pomerance. Contributions for the defense can be sent care of FREEDOM or to Herbert Mahler, Terzani Defense Committee, 94 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

Cuba:

The revolution in Cuba, which started as a protest against the despot Machado, suddenly turned to the left after less than a month of the De Cespedes administration and began planning a semi-proletarian regime. It was hardly to be expected that the elderly De Cespedes, even with the glamour of his father's name behind him, would do much for the practically enslaved workers on the sugar and tobacco plantations, for he is a rich man and all of his associates are of the property-owning class. An important point raised against him was that he allowed or assisted Machado and some of that bloody tyrant's most ardent supporters to escape and thus avoid paying for their misdeeds. As this is written (Sept. 11th) matters are uncertain, with the revolutionary government facing what *The New York Times* calls a "four-point test." The four points being "Capacity to Govern, Maintenance of Order, Public Support and Meeting of Obligations," with the last probably the most important, for with more than a billion dollars in American capital invested in Cuba it is unlikely that even the "liberal" Roosevelt will allow a repudiation of debts. In other words, the Cuban masses will have to pay in sweat and blood for the tyranny of Machado backed and upheld by Americans and "our" government these past thirty-five years.

One of the demands of the revolutionary group responsible for unseating De Cespedes is a division of land which even a capitalist newspaper like *The New York Times* admits would vastly improve the condition of the people. Before the revolution of 1898 many Cubans had plots of land and owned their own homes, and simple as these were the people were sure of having enough to eat even in times when the sugar crop was for one reason or another a failure. Since the introduction of American capital and the concentration of power in the hands of the large land owners the workers have been deprived of their land and forced to work in large plantations where they were treated as factory workers. When the price of sugar fell it meant misery for the great mass of workers who had no other means of a livelihood just as it does in industrial communities here when factories close. The machine age has brought with it many advantages but it has also brought much misery and suffering to many millions of people. Decentralization of industry must come if the race is to avoid becoming robots and slaves of machines. Even if the most revolutionary government were to be established in Cuba as long as she remains a one- or two-crop country she will be subject to fluctuations of world trade and finance, and a crisis in Europe or the U. S. with a consequent fall in the price of sugar and tobacco will inevitably bring a decline in her standard of living. One of these days "economic isolation," which means, in plain words, countries self-supporting in the basic necessities of life, will not be treated as heresy by radicals and other sensible people as it is now.

Our heartfelt sympathy goes out to the people of Cuba in their struggle for freedom. Just why they should have to wait to solve some of the more pressing of their problems until every country in the world solves its own problems we fail to see. With a billion dollars of American money drawing interest and a vast public debt resting on the shoulders of the workers every impartial person must admit that the Cubans are worse off than when they lived in their own homes and did not boast that their country was the sugar bowl of the world. Whether this condition can be restored is a question, but certain it is that the breaking up of the large estates and the restoration of the land and the homes to those from whom they were wrested is something devoutly to be wished for, because this alone will

bring a larger measure of happiness and contentment to the people than any other reform.

Trotsky and the United Front:

Whether it is because deprived of power other than that of reason that Trotsky is talking more sense since he has been in exile than formerly it is of course impossible to tell, but that he does so is an incontrovertible fact. But then, the more sense he talks the less will his former comrades read him. In an article in *The New Republic* of July 5th on the "German Catastrophe" he says, "How can one fail to see that the interests of the Social Democracy and of Fascism are incompatible when even the assistance of the Steel Helmets is impossible in the Third Reich?" In other words, the whole world knows that if the Communists had not fought and denounced the Social Democrats even more than they did the Hitlerites, the latter would never have risen to power and then crushed both parties. The Communists cherished the naive belief that you can denounce a man or group of men as traitors and can accuse them of every crime in the calendar one day, and that they will then rush into your arms and greet you as comrades the next. It is quite possible that if Trotsky were the war lord of Russia issuing orders to underlings as he was fifteen years ago he would have had no time to think these things out. But being in exile has helped, and now he sees some things far more clearly than he did at that time. As for his former comrades, in the first place, they don't read the "capitalist" or "liberal" press, so that they don't know what Trotsky is saying; and if they did read it they would not believe the word of a "traitor." They will continue therefore to make the same blunders and play into the hands of their enemies, all the while pluming themselves on being the only real revolutionists.

The sustaining fund, the statement of which appears on another page, has been created to help FREEDOM. In these days of Fascism, Bolshevism, hypocritical "Liberalism," and other forms of dictatorship, the understanding of Anarchism as a philosophy is more necessary than ever before. Will you help us and help yourselves?

LECTURE TOUR

Harry Kelly will be glad to make a lecture tour in the interest of *Freedom* if a sufficient number of comrades throughout the country are interested and think expenses can be covered. Lectures on Anarchism and kindred subjects in English are needed if any headway is to be made among the native population. Tentative list of subjects and further information will be sent on request.

Address: Harry Kelly, care of FREEDOM

Flight of the Blue Buzzard

By DONALD CROCKER

With no little noise and confusion, the machinery of American Fascism is in process of being set up, while this is written (Labor Day).

It is encountering plenty of obstruction and sabotage on the part of the industrial Bourbons who have learned nothing and forgotten nothing. Senile, dim-witted old Henry Ford is conspicuous among the diehard devotees of *laissez faire* who are too stupid to realize that the NIRA offers the best hope of preserving and perpetuating their robber system. Apparently their purpose is to wreck the Rooseveltian program if they can. It is a pretty safe guess that they cannot.

Meantime the misleaders of orthodox trade unionism are joyfully co-operating in a scheme which will forge heavier chains for American wage slaves than they have ever worn. And some sections of the moribund, bankrupt and disintegrating A. F. of L. report augmented membership and renewed activity. Messrs. Green, Woll, Lewis and their ilk appear in the role of "big shots" around the busy headquarters of Gen. Johnson.

Slave "Unions"

Well, there will be a place for "unions" of a sort in the American Servile State. Such "unions" are a necessary part of Hitler's scheme and Mussolini's. In them the enslaved workers are regimented. They are forbidden to revolt, or even to protest too loudly against whatever conditions of life and toil are imposed upon them from above. Significant hints that Labor is under compulsion to accept the beneficent decrees of the NIRA have not been wanting. The *New York Daily News*, for example (August 24), concludes an editorial chanting the praises of the "New Deal" for Labor thus (*italics ours*):

"There is this to console the opponents of unions, though. Bigger unions and more of them are in the NIRA picture, true; but *they are not likely to have as much freedom of action as in the past*. Just as employers are giving up some of their individualism to the New Deal, *so will unions have to give up some of theirs*. The Government proposes to be a partner not only to the employers but to the workers, too. . . ."

And already rebellious workers in several sections of the country have learned that to strike and to picket against NIRA decisions is outlawry, to be dealt with as such.

The Blind Lead the Blind

It is lamentable that the feeble opposition so far manifest to the operations of the New Tyranny has

been almost wholly from organizations controlled by the Communist Party.

The pathological imbecility of Communist leadership makes it incredible, in the writer's opinion, that it will ever influence any numerous portion of the American working class. But wherever the party, through its despotically controlled unions or nuclei within unions, has succeeded in obtaining a foothold, it has achieved nothing but disruption and mischief. It is a nuisance which must be eradicated, and can only be eradicated by the emergence of a genuinely revolutionary American labor movement.

Task of American Anarchism

This movement must be Anarchistic.

That is to say, it must base itself upon Proudhon's shattering sentence, "Property is theft!" and, accordingly, make no truce with the thieves.

It must recognize the State as an enemy, and refuse

participation of any description in its operations.

Its tactics must be DIRECT ACTION.

Its mission must be to imbue the workers with the Anarchist psychology, realizing that in the last analysis the battle for human freedom is a battle for the possession of *the minds of men*.

Its chief weapon must be Anarchist labor unions, which themselves will evolve into the voluntary associations of producers which Kropotkin foretold would administer a Free Society.

Sixty years ago in the councils of the First International the followers of Marx and those of Bakunin contended for the leadership of revolutionary Labor. The Marxists prevailed.

Sixty years of Marxism have ended in shameful betrayal, debacle and despair. Back to Bakunin!

It is a mighty task which confronts the Anarchists of the world—and of America. The spirits of Albert Parsons and his comrades urge us onward!

PEDAGOGUES ON PARADE

By SOPHIE FAGIN

The proverbial "old-maid" school teacher has, for over a century, been pictured as the incarnation of propriety. How startled we are, then, to see thousands of these very school teachers parading the busiest streets of one of the world's busiest cities, demonstrating against the "powers-that-be"!

Surprised, we ask: have the pedagogues doffed their musty robes of learning, and joined the ranks of the social rebels? No! Certainly, no!

Have the pedagogues allowed their ventures into fine literature to turn their heads and render them idealistic? No! Certainly, no!

What then has happened to the pedagogues that they, the erstwhile proper, paragons of conservatism, parade Chicago's "Loop" with great defiant banners and protesting brass bands? Neither idealism nor outraged social justice is a force strong enough to make them break the rigid form of custom. The impelling force behind the revolt of the pedagogues is a simple one, commonly known as "bread and butter."

Chicago school teachers have long been unpaid. The legal racketeers of the city have so maneuvered it that there has never been enough money in the public budget for "education." At first, the school teachers, with characteristic respect for "law and order," did little but grumble, very softly and moderately. It took them a long time to find out that murmured indignation is an all-too-feeble weapon against a régime

of seasoned "public servants." Timidly they arranged private meetings to voice their discontent, in answer to which political chefs of the Board of Education cooked up many sugar-coated promises, but no action! Meanwhile economic insecurity developed into actual economic want. In desperation the school teachers finally abandoned their rigid conservatism and burst forth in mass demonstration on the streets of Chicago.

It was a novel experience for those who had condemned the protest marches of the unemployed to themselves parade the self-same streets with slogans none too mild. It was a novel experience for those who had all their lives taught obedience to law and order to themselves encounter police billies.

But if in their naiveté they expected the city to be aroused by their spurt of militancy they were doomed to disappointment. Many times they paraded; the city compromised occasionally by making script payments, but salaries received were few and far between. The penniless teacher became a not uncommon local phenomenon. Summer vacation approached; still salaries remained in arrears. Two weeks before the scheduled date the city's schools were closed. In six weeks more the Board of Education announced that the Junior Highs would not be reopened in the fall—thus fanning fast the flames of discontent. The local pedagogues enlisted the support of a section of the parents and

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IN MEMORIAM

Fred Moore

After an illness of some nine months, Fred Moore died of cancer, August 25th, at the home of his mother in Los Angeles. He was 51.

Except for the last year or so of it, Fred was the leading counsel for the defense in the famous Sacco-Vanzetti affair. He had been prominent before as one of the most successful lawyers in the great fights of the I. W. W.

Since the Sacco-Vanzetti affair he has often been criticized and even openly attacked in some radical circles. It is quite true that Sacco finally wrote dismissing him and declaring that he regarded Fred as his worst enemy. (The letter appears in the little book containing the correspondence of the two victims. I have been told that Fred himself supplied it.) Personally I know nothing of the matter, but some of Sacco's closest friends certainly took quite a different view of it. It is easy to understand that to the honest and straightforward Anarchist many of the methods customarily used by lawyers in the interests of their clients must have appeared nothing but "trickery"; and it must not be forgotten that Sacco wrote after long years of hard imprisonment, long cruel years away from his much-loved family, after he had realized much more clearly than his optimistic friends that he was doomed irrevocably, and at a time when he was highly excited. It is significant that Vanzetti, a man with no family ties to wrench his heart and disturb his mental equilibrium, a man moreover of a more equable temperament, did not write like that, and that many of the most active workers outside

have always expressed for Fred a high respect.

I say I know nothing of the matter personally, but to those who knew Fred and recognized his ability some of the attacks seemed very nonsensical. Fred was certainly an exceedingly able lawyer, and if he had been willing at any time to abandon his radicalism a fine career would have been open to him, not in defending working men who grumbled, quarreled and denounced him, but in showing rich corporations how to get around the law, for fat fees and distinguished consideration. Fred here in Los Angeles remained as radical as ever, always ready to speak at the most radical of meetings, never hesitating because of any thought in regard to his own person, always ready to help a worker in trouble.

His association with the Anarchists in the famous case led many people to think of him as one himself. No. It is true that of late years since the rise of Communism Fred seldom spoke anywhere without bringing in his belief in the absolute need of society for freedom for the individual. To be an Anarchist, however, it is not enough to argue apologetically in favor of Freedom; the Anarchist must shout it forth as his battle-cry. Fred's attitude in the matter was in reality nothing more than that taken by most intelligent radicals always—till radicals got into power in Russia. Fred has not changed: it was his friends who had forgotten. He remained in the main what he had been, his views pretty close to those of the I. W. W., broad-minded and tolerant.

Personally he was a man much liked; his manner was one with a most comradelike charm and in social intercourse he was always the best of good fellows; his association with the fine old mother who survives him was very beautiful; he was certainly an eloquent speaker and a brilliant man whose loss is a serious one to radicalism.

A Memorial Meeting for him is being held Saturday at 224 South Spring Street, Los Angeles.

T. H. Bell

Dr. Charles L. Andrews

Dr. Charles L. Andrews, one of our oldest and best loved comrades, passed away on Sunday, September 3rd, at the age of 83 years and six months. According to a long and favorable notice in *The New York Times* of September 6th, "his health was impaired by the strain involved several months ago when he lifted a subway platform sleeper to safety."

The son of Stephen Pearl Andrews, brilliant radical publicist and contemporary of Horace Greeley, he came by his radicalism naturally and throughout his long life associated himself with the various libertarian movements of his time. One of the founders of the

Sunrise Club, Francisco Ferrer Association, Free Thinkers of America, The American Association for the Advancement of Atheism, The Thomas Paine National Historical Society and Ingersoll Centennial Memorial Committee, he was indefatigable in the service of freedom and the welfare of man. For many years his tiny wife, half his size, and this tall, handsome man were familiar figures at most of the radical meetings in New York and vicinity. In recent years when his face was missing it worried some of us until we knew the state of his health.

About eighteen months ago some old friends of the Ferrer School days gave him a testimonial dinner on his 82nd birthday and among those who paid tribute on that occasion to his lifetime of devotion were Leonard Abbott, Will Durant, James F. Morton, Joseph Lewis, Manuel Komroff, Harry Weinberger, Dr. M. Jagendorf, Harry Kelly and probably a hundred others. A peaceful and lovable man himself, his best friends and most loved comrades were those who were by the public branded as reds and revolutionaries. I am sure that all who knew him will bear me out in saying that Charles L. Andrews was a rare personality, one that appears all too seldom in such a sordid world as ours. To have known him was to have loved, admired and respected him for his integrity of purpose as well as his deep love and sympathy for the downtrodden, for his pity for those misguided sons of man who waste their lives in a fruitless search for happiness and think it can be found in exploitation and ill treatment of their fellow men. To him life was a mission as well as an adventure. He took his principles seriously but realized that man as man struts but his brief hour upon the stage. The Anarchist movement has harbored within its ranks many great men and women, men and women who will be remembered for generations after they have passed away, but it has harbored none more honest, more incorruptible or with a deeper love of man than our old friend and comrade, Charles L. Andrews. Such men strengthen our faith in man and make us feel that the day of deliverance, although long delayed, cannot fail to come.

PEDAGOGUES ON PARADE

(Continued from page 3)

pupils, and a few days later, in July, they once more paraded, this time in greater solidarity, crying slogan-wise: "Shame, Chicago, we are part of you!" Their latent social consciousness once aroused demanded: "Shall your children pay for political steals?" "Education for the rich; none for the poor." In the spirit of the battle, they inscribed upon their banners:

"World's Fair Chief Exhibit— Unpaid School Teachers."

The method of protest of the pedagogues is essentially no different from the strikes of any other group of unpaid workers—regardless of whether they be ditch-diggers or professors, illiterate or intellectual, Yankee or foreign. Their complaint is, in the last analysis, one and the same, summarized adequately enough in one of the less striking slogans of the teachers; "The Laborer is Worthy of His Hire." With the advent of their own personal misfortunes, the teachers realized through their bellies that which they had never learned through their heads—that the "representatives of the people" are "representatives" only in name—that those at the head of the government machines play a pretty game whose purpose is most often the personal aggrandizement of political and economic bosses. Despite this new-born understanding, however, we cannot credit the teachers with any real social awakening—other than a purely local and limited rebellion, characteristic of any group of dissatisfied workers.

This being so, what is the broad significance of the revolt of the pedagogues? Each and every educational system, from the days of the Greek slave teacher of Ancient Rome to the soviet-minded instructors of Red Russia, has served as a mouthpiece of the class in power. Schooling institutions throughout history have invariably taught the supremacy, the nobility of those who ruled, and of their methods of ruling. As such, they have been of invaluable assistance to the "powers-that-be." When these so-called "educational" organs cease to function—when they cease to teach the grandeur of living under the Stars and Stripes even when "life" must be supported without the most elemental necessities—the ass-like multitudes may become readier for innovation and improvement. Already the cracked and crumbling state of capitalism fails to support these forces that supply its spiritual nourishment. The new generation, no longer blinded by the roseate myths of the sanctity of the status quo, may now begin to see conditions in their true light. Then, oh, retainers of a dying system, Beware!

Although the revolt of the pedagogues no more implies revolution "around-the-corner" than does the New Deal insure prosperity "around-the-corner" it is significant as just one more important symptom of the impending bankruptcy of the business of capitalism which cannot support even its own advertising managers.

We welcome the teachers' protest, as such! We hail the day when their rebellions will swell the ranks of the truly revolutionary!

OLD TURK—NEW TURK

By WINTER ROBB

[Turkey has been for many of us Anarchists an unknown country, and so far as we are aware neither Anarchist nor socialist movement has ever existed there. Unlike the nations of the Far East, Turkey is close to centers of revolutionary socialist activity but seemingly without being influenced by them. The writer of this article returned a few weeks ago after a four years' stay in Istanbul. She is a socialist and a genuine person of very liberal tendencies. To those who, like ourselves, are interested in how other people live, think, and act, we are sure the article will prove very interesting and informing.—H. K.]

"Turkey-faces-west-Turkey-faces-west"—the click of the train, the whirling of the dynamo, the staccato of the cable—"Turkey-faces-west-Turkey-faces-west." But the echo — "Turkey-still-is-east-Turkey-still-is-east"—the call of the muezzin through narrow streets, the oars dipped by the fishermen, the silence of the desert broken by a shepherd's song—"Turkey-still-is-east."

These are the rhythms of Istanbul where two continents join. Century after century, this city has been a strategic center of conflict. Now, not only is it still an international point, but it is also the largest city of a country where two opposing internal forces meet: Turkey of the Sultanate and Turkey of the dictatorship. In 1922, Mustafa Kemal Pasha, called by his people the Ghazi, or Conqueror, led a successful revolution against the Sultan. For a time democracy seemed probable, but bit by bit the old tradition of the East, despotism, reasserted itself, acquiring a new name and a new form, the dictatorship.

The dictator of Turkey is its president with sweeping and undisputed powers. It was probably not Mustafa Kemal's original intention to create a government where his was the final and only power. He exercises over his people a charm: the Ghazi can do no wrong. He has won their unbounded loyalty. It is their will that he should have unlimited powers. They trust him as they would be willing to trust few men. A dictatorship that is thrust upon the people is tyranny, but one that is desired cannot be called that. What antagonism there is to the President-Dictator is well hidden. Usually it is the intelligentsia of the country that are the agitating and liberal citizens of that country, but in Turkey, the intelligentsia are whole-heartedly with the ruler. None is more nationalistic than this group.

This is easily explained. Before the fall of the Sultanate, the intelligentsia were the revolutionists. They finally won and came to power. The youth of Turkey today naturally turn to these comparatively young leaders, fired by their gallantry and nationalism, inspired by the courage that conquered tremendous odds to win a revolution and establish a republic.

The achievements of the present government are certainly remarkable. The Kemalist government forced the Allies out of Turkish territory and since then has maintained peace. That same government has stabilized Turkish currency. In this year of 1933, the American dollar, not the Turkish lira, has bounded up and down. In social reforms, Mustafa Kemal can point with legitimate pride to: (1) monogamy and the end of the harem, thereby giving new freedom to women, (2) the separation of church and state, a combination that had formerly proved an implacable foe to progress, (3) the new alphabet, for the immediately increased literacy of 14,000,000 people of whom only 10% had known how to read and write, (4) the change of dress which symbolized the westward outlook of the state and at the same time destroyed the obvious difference of Armenians and Greeks from their Moslem neighbors, and (5) the enlargement of the public school system with many more scholarships for struggling, yet capable, students. A ruler who has gone thus far, in spite of opposition and inertia, deserves the fame he has won. Considering the forces that were traditionally intrenched, he worked miracles.

What, then, would a radical find wrong with the Turkish system of government today? First, he would lament the lack of intelligent criticism. Several years ago, a small newspaper had the temerity to take issue with a governmental point of view. So strange, almost miraculous, was their open comment that the circulation was increased overnight to phenomenal figures. In a few days the paper was suppressed. Newspapers do not represent points of view of opposing parties; for two parties do not exist, in spite of Kemal Pasha's attempt to create one to oppose himself and his party several years ago. A second party failed because no one wished to cut himself off from the possibility of holding governmental office; and even if one were not interested in that, it was felt that all prestige was a monopoly of the members of the President's party. Were there two parties, there might be created a critical politics that makes for consciousness of one's

country, not in a totally jingoistic fashion, but with a real understanding of the needs of the nation.

A second point which would arouse a radical observer is the intense "check-up" system. Turkey, like many other European countries, seems committed to the belief that "all men are liars." On a tram or a boat, the control is steadily in evidence, not once, but twice, even three times. A small *vesique* (passport) is carried by all residents, Turkish or foreign. Even for a short trip the foreigner must check in and out of each town he stays in; and a citizen is likewise subject to inspection whenever he is away from his permanent residence. Graduation from a school is a feat in paper-signing and tape-winding. From the cradle to the grave, the citizen is carefully marked, ticketed, and checked by hundreds of government employees. Life is an official experience. Granted that certain regulations are essential, the considerable waste of time and money in fulfilling them is incalculable.

The waste of money is very serious when one faces the immense taxes on income. Taxes—three in number—require thirty to fifty per cent of the income of each person gainfully employed. This burden of taxation is tragic, the more so when one realizes that the greatest proportion of the budget is spent for the military. Military training is compulsory, and every young Turkish male must serve an eighteen months' training period.

A critic of the country would object to the barbarity of executions. Those guilty of an attempt on the government in power are hanged in a public place. In the early years of the government, fifteen men were judged guilty of a plot to kill Mustafa Kemal. They were hanged in a square with placards across their chests: "Caught in the moment of attempting to murder the beloved President of the Republic, the Savior of Turkey and of Turkish honor, and to overthrow the government." Four of the men who met death in this manner were pioneers in the Young Turk movement that first limited the power of the Sultanate in 1908. Within recent years, an uprising in a small town near Smyrna ended in the same way. The government seems to say, "Beware our wrath!"

And again the critic would say, "But what about public sanitation?" Though people are inoculated and vaccinated regularly, there is much to be done in the way of sanitary engineering. The side streets in the large cities reek with all manner of unsavory smells. There is an unlimited amount of dust and dirt, particularly in the poor sections of the cities. The plumbing is not efficient, and the sewerage is apparently in-

adequate in the centers of population. Were the population not in a measure immune because of being constantly exposed to disease germs, the death-rate would be much higher. Turkey ought to turn to the problem of sanitary equipment and health education.

But it is certainly not fair to make these criticisms without indicating Turkey's defense. Of her acting on the premise that "all men are liars," Turkey says, "Honor is a rare quality in humanity. We would like to trust our citizens and all men, but that is impossible. We must have *vesiques* and keep a careful check on the movement of the people within our borders. Remember our restless minorities, and realize that there is danger without our boundary lines. A careful registration of residents and tourists is required all over Europe. We must do likewise." And the rest of her defense? "The critic has deplored the crude method of hanging men in public squares. Our people do not comprehend subtleties in such matters. They must be warned and taught by acts, not by words, edicts, or ultimatums. Our direct method is essential. . . . For the protection of our state, most of the budget must go to military defense. Our government would like to put more money into social projects, but if the nation is to be guarded, we can spare comparatively little for that. At the present time we are establishing a fine public school system. Commissions are writing and translating the textbooks that are needed. We have created kindergartens and nurseries for the children of working mothers. We are establishing clinics. Young students are being given a medical education with the understanding that they will be in the government service in the interior for several years after graduation. We are working as fast as we can for the improvement of the people of Turkey."

Certainly the government today is devoted to the people in a way that the Sultan would have considered unnecessary, if not stupid. But silence is as golden as it was in the old days of his reign. Silence!—that is the price of the limited freedom within the boundaries of Turkey.

Were a new liberal movement to get under way in Turkey, this new state might make a remarkable record. There is little hope for such a movement immediately. The liberals who once threw off the tyrants are growing middle-aged, conservative, solid defenders of the *status quo*. Their passion for liberty has died. Yet another generation of stout hearts must come to challenge the present state, and in the daring of their youth, they may bring new ideas to Turkey, and to its history, great deeds.

INDIVIDUALISM, an American Way of Life, by Horace M. Kallen. Liveright, N. Y. 1933.

The author, emerging from his disillusionment with the War and the Peace and in the face of the popular gloved Fascism of the Roosevelt regime, has the courage to show the fallacy of other panaceas: parliamentary Socialism, Fascism and Communism. He is a forceful thinker, in his own way assailing the established goals of church and school, but fails to follow through to the logical conclusion of his reasoning—that of Anarchism.

Prof. Kallen's courageous public statement several years ago linking Sacco and Vanzetti with Jesus as brother Anarchists redeems somewhat his support of the War. Admitting that for him Kropotkin is greater than Marx, Prof. Kallen makes a powerful appeal for truth: "which like a champion fighter must meet all comers," holding that voluntary association and freedom is the only method by which true progress can be made.

This depression has only shown the external weakness of capitalism; the foundations of privilege, fear and irresponsibility still remain: "The privileged projected the failure of nerve by means of constitution-worship and the philosophy of Fascism; and the unprivileged by means of Communism . . . these ideologies not so much utter hope as project fear."

This pragmatic philosopher consistently gives a masterly argument which disproves the tactic of the Socialist opportunist and the Communist borer—from within—of the end justifying the means—at the same time replacing this method of the Jesuits with the program: "ideal and ideals are not to be regarded as visions to contemplate and goals to rest in. They are to be acknowledged for what they actually are, instruments to work with." He calls his philosophy progressivism and defines it as a step-by-step pragmatic idea, proving each step as we go, instead of the All or Nothing of the absolutist, yet his whole philosophy is the essence of Anarchism. His criticism of the absolutist is logical towards those who do not have the nerve or patience to practice some approximation of the ideal daily and build slowly towards a permanent good.

"Ecclesiasticism, Fascism, Communism, Constitution-worship—these are not the growths of the American soil. They have no roots in the American tradition concerning liberty and equality. . . . What do they offer? A church, a state, an economy wherein the rule, the organization is all, the individual nothing; regimentation in place of initiative; authority in place of self-government; dogma in place of experiment; obedience in the place of responsibility; submission in the

place of conscience. What else can men grown weary win from such a substitution if not a moral holiday—the surrender of will." What Anarchist could give a better indictment of present society than this professor who speaks of Individualism?

Prof. Kallen quotes Rousseau: "It is not the natural man who is the corrupt man . . . the natural man is the good man," showing that he trusts the individual to think and learn without the coercion of the state or church. While an appeal to the captains of industry on the part of President Roosevelt, who upholds our present system and builds new battleships to defend it, may produce some grudging results, it would be better for Prof. Kallen to frame his argument for the young men and women to whom he has made such an eloquent appeal in his book towards the goal stated in his preface: "Individualism as a way of life in modern society would mean the surrender of their privileges by the privileged and of their irresponsibility by the unprivileged, in a common responsible effort to provide for each individual security and freedom."

AMMON A. HENNACY

To All Comrades:

The objects of the *Freedom Group* are: to help publish FREEDOM; create an *Anarchist Lecture Bureau*; assist *Political Prisoners*; and coordinate these activities with the *Anarchist Movement*.

With the arrival of the Fall Season there will come renewed *activity*. We urge all *Comrades* in and around New York City who are anxious to do some work, to join us, and Comrades in other cities to form new groups or to strengthen the old ones.

Freedom Group meets Thursdays at 219 Second Avenue, New York City.

Correspondence—Sarah Cohen, Secy, P. O. Box 111, Station O, New York City.

SUSTAINING FUND

Leonard Abbott \$10.00, M. A. Jagendorf \$2.00, H. K. \$2.00, Sarah Cohen \$1.00, M. Freeman \$1.00, J. Frager \$1.00, Minnie Schwartz \$1.00, M. A. Cohn \$5.00, Izakovitch \$2.00, E. K. \$1.00, M. Epstein \$5.00, Claire Comorau \$1.00, Tania Shapiro \$1.00, Dr. Globus \$1.00.

One result of the NRA is to double the cost of paper, thus increasing the cost of publishing FREEDOM. Until further notice we will appear with eight pages in the present form.

H. K.